/157 cont./

241 the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was
122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

/158/ "Beijú," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and
[262] triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions; "they have beijús," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[411] There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree
824 -- the tube of ubá, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/
[703] of the legend created the Bakaïrí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been
[137] walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clearing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and: "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

361 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in
342 the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open; in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked
609 Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes
[291] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakaïrí. "Kɣulino," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakaïrí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a parson," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

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535 back and forth in this way for hours. They held bow and arrow in their hands and were led by a masked figure which, in the semidarkness, looked like a man dressed as a woman at a carnival. [292] The clothing was feminine, the abrupt movements masculine. This costume consisted of a cotton cap with red, yellow, and green feather trimming all around and a long white cloak of loosely knotted cotton cord that terminated at the bottom with a wreath of black mutum feathers pointing downward. -- Castro said that he had interpreted the explanation of an Yuruna to mean that this festival dance preserves the memory of former times when a great chief was received with much pomp in the villages that he visited. That chief is represented by the man in the cloak and the feather crown. /The remainder of Ch. 16 and Ch. 17, pp. 267-281, are omitted in the translation./

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Eighteenth Chapter

Legends of the Bakaïrí

773 [115] [197] The name that plays the chief role in the story of jolly Captain Caetano Mêmo, which unfortunately was told in such miserably broken Portuguese, is that of the "Imperador." If the missionaries had the intention of causing the greatest possible confusion of concepts in the heads of the Bakaïrí whom they were to convert, they achieved their purpose to such an extent that one can only with effort separate a little clarity and concreteness from the general confusion. Let us imagine: 539 Imperador the sun-god of the Indians. He bears two other names. Keri and Schischi. His brother is called Kame and also Nuna. Schischi, however, is the sun, Nuna the moon. Keri and Kame are merely two other names for the two celestial bodies, which are found among many "Guck tribes" (cf. chart of the Nu /untranslated/) interestingly enough in reverse, Keri belonging to the moon, Kamu to the sun.

/201 cont./

181 only that all creatures behaved essentially as he did, that they
825 had their family life, communicated with one another by means of sounds, had dwellings, sometimes fought with one another, and nourished themselves from hunting booty or from fruits; in short, he felt as though he were primus inter pares, not above them; he knew nothing about all those good things to the effect that there is a difference whether one draws conclusions in situational images or in concepts, and whether one acts purposefully according to associations which are inherited complete within the species, or according to tradition which is handed down by the parents by means of language. His myths and legends, which [793] to us seem like pure fairy tales and animal fables and which he takes just as seriously as we do the sacred books with their doctrine, in which he lets human beings and animals mingle, would necessarily be only playful jests if he regarded himself as created out of a different substance than other creatures are. We can understand these human beings only if we regard them as the product of a hunting culture. They gathered the main body of their experiences from animals, and with these experiences primarily, since it is only through the old that one is capable of understanding the new, they explained nature, fashioned their world view. [532] Accordingly, their artistic motifs, as we shall see, are borrowed, with amazing one-sidedness, from the animal kingdom; indeed, their entire, surprisingly rich art is rooted in the hunting life and did not flower until a more peaceful existence provided protection for the buds. From the outset I cannot refer often enough to these conditions, since otherwise we should not properly evaluate the material culture of the natives and should not understand their mental culture at all.

*171 On the other hand, it is a fact that the products of agricul-
174 ture -- except in the case of the Trumaí -- have been in the
241 possession of our Indians since time immemorial. A comparison of the languages furnishes irrefutable proof. It teaches us first of all that the tribes of the Schingú belong to different language families. It teaches us furthermore that in the case of each one the branching off from the basic people concerned took place

B /201 cont,/
*171 in remote epochs, /202/ for the phonetic softening processes
174 and the disappearance of the initial root-sounds, which are
241 present everywhere in the individual dialects, show a development in the same direction, but in different gradations everywhere with respect to degree and limits, show only equivalence, not conformity, and therefore could have started only after the separation from the basic people. Nevertheless, even the basic peoples have names for the most important useful plants; they are entirely different from one basic people to another, but for the individual basic stock they are common among a greater or lesser number of branches. For the Karaiben /Carib/ I believe I have proved these statements in my Bakaïrí grammar, I can likewise maintain them for the Tupí after more recent studies; for the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/, where the material is inadequate and difficult, I reserve all judgment and merely point out that, on the basis of historical and ethnological data, we must conclude that the Nu-Aruak undoubtedly have an older culture than the Karaiben and certainly the Gēs, and probably also an older
T [192] one than the Tupí. The Trumaí borrowed their names for the most important useful plants in part from the Nu-Aruak, in part from the Tupí.

B [181] Thus, we have a contradiction with respect to the common conception: ancient agriculture along with the world view of
B [773] hunters. The Bakaïrí said to me: "Our grandfathers did not
[261] know anything about maize and mandioca, instead they ate earth" -- which the present-day Indians only nibble. In the bagadú legend they say that mandioca was first given as a gift
BO [241] to the campo residents. In the Mato Grosso different stages of development are found side by side: in the case of the Bororó we
[153] shall become acquainted with a mighty tribe for whom the cultivation of food plants was an incomprehensible beginning, who, without need, most speedily pulled out and consumed the
T [241] mandioca roots planted for them, before the roots were scarcely
[179] more than thin young shoots -- we recognize from the language and also hear from the tradition that the Trumaí were taught agriculture only recently by their neighbors, and we find among them excellently tended, extensive plantings--

/210 cont./

114 276 [177] Antilles found it. On the other hand, I share the opinion of v. Ihering, which I often expressed in lectures before I read his article, that the pipe in Brazil is of modern origin. Like the fishhook.

It plays an important part in medical
*171 276 757 ●773 treatment and is regarded as a very ancient acquisition of the culture heroes, who, as legend indicates, received it from the north. The drinking bowls and calabashes, especially the Cucurbita lagenaria, represented a major product for the
*171 249 [248] [302] Nahuquá, a somewhat lesser one for the Bakaïrí. The Mehinakú and the Bakaïrí had the best cotton. The orlean bush was valued above all by the Bakaïrí, the Mehinakú neglected it completely because watering it made too much work; the surprising circumstance upon my arrival in the village, namely, that no red-painted, but many black-painted figures were walking about, finds a very natural explanation.

*171 241 Maize, represented among the Suyá by a species characterized by smallness of ears and a golden color of the kernels, and mandioca were found everywhere, but the latter was planted in decidedly greater amounts among the Mehinakú. They were the richest farmers of the upper Schingú, their word for mandioca was also adopted by the Trumaí. Of tuber plants, besides mandioca, we saw yams of two kinds and batatas, which we first found in quantities among the Mehinakú. Our men designated beans as "feijaõ de vara," pole beans, or as "feijão de roça," plantation beans. Of edible gourds, abóbora /Abobra/, we saw only the seeds which the Suya brought us in 1884 for eating, so we understood. The mandubi peanut occurred in a small species. There were definitely no guavas or bananas on the Schingú.

*171 174 241 In my report about the first journey I pointed out the absence of bananas and especially stressed that for the question as to whether or not the banana was introduced in America only after the arrival of the Europeans this must be all the more decisive since the different Schingú tribes are of different origin and yet not a single one brought along the banana from the previous
n2 [i.e., The Tobacco -- Analyst]

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*171 174 433 I shall sum up. Ancient agriculture is most compatible with the type of hunting practiced here. The Indians were primarily fishermen. The yield in their area on the upper course of a river was not sufficient for pure ichthyophagy; on the other hand, it was not small during the months when the fish traveled upstream in the rising water and were found in all the canals and lagoons in great numbers, or when, as the water receded, the opportunity for a catch in the artificially barricaded parts of the river branches became considerably greater. Fishing and hunting, furthermore, furnished the indispensable tools. There *171 174 433 were no domestic animals in our sense; dogs were unfamiliar to the native. He took pleasure in the colored birds, whose 231 [343] feathers he sometimes pulled out, especially in the talking parrots and cawing araras; he let those that he happened to catch young walk around in the village, woodpecker or heron or curassow, and kept in large pole-cages, for the edification of the community, the spitting eagle, Harpyia destructor, or some other predatory bird; he had lizards hanging by their tails from the hammock, so that they would clean up a bit among the annoying crickets -- he had not succeeded any further in the utilization of animals, and though wild plants were established near the village to be used as desired, the rearing of edible [825] [862] animals was not considered. /219/ Indeed, the attitude that the Indian took toward the animal kingdom made him feel a definite repugnance about ultimately consuming animals that he had raised, just as we do not eat dogs.

*171 174 433 The relative sedentariness connected with the life of the fisherman could not become permanent until the women learned to plant, to make pots, and to prepare flour. Although agricul- *171 174 241 648 ture on the Schingú had already reached respectable improvement, nevertheless there were small indications that showed what its origin had been, at least here. People planted the useful plants found in the vicinity, each tribe acquired its own experience on its own soil, and they were disseminated by the 174 women who, in war or peace, came to other tribes. The fact 773 that the Bakaïrí-Karaiben were once furthered in this way in

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174 their civilization by Nu-Aruak women is shown in their tribal
993 legend, as I should like to mention here already, in a way that can scarcely be misinterpreted. They have two culture heroes, the twin brothers Keri and Kame, the former of whom is strongly favored by the legend. The two names are the generally widespread Nu-Aruak words, always appearing together, for moon and sun, so that an influence from the Nu-Aruak side is obvious, however one explains the "personification." Kame is the leader of the Nu-Aruak and other tribes; Keri, of the Bakaïrí. Every-
[562] thing that Keri and Kame undertake in the best interests of the tribe is traced back to the advice of Aunt Ewaki, who takes the place of the mother; the woman who always first points out ways and means to them could not possibly, however, have been conceived as a stupid work-animal.

IV. Fire and the Discovery of Wooden Fire-makers.

Introduction. Campo fires and the behavior of the animal kingdom. Ancient hunting. The "queimada," a civilizing place. The awe of primitive man. The myth of instruction by the storms. Fire-making and work methods. Procedure on the Schingú. Origin of wood-rubbing. Stage of maintaining the fire and tinder-technique. Prehistoric vagabonds and Prometheus. Confirmation by experiment.

If I have already been obliged in the previous chapters to discuss my observations on the Schingú with respect to their general culture-historical value, I shall be even less able to avoid doing so in connection with the subject that I am about to take up. I am far from believing that the Schingú Indians were the first who produced fire by drilling or rubbing pieces of wood, I am not by any means yielding to the pleasant delusion that I /220/ have discovered a paradisiacal ancestral seat where all the most important discoveries were made. I should simply like to proceed from these little primitive people, who are still unfamiliar

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B 527 535 773 *[191] According to everything that the natives told us about the festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakaïrí legend describes the origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakaïrí, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kami to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-masks, but with characterizing and partly disguising headdresses, as Keri's invention.

B 527 535 539 "Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

B T 527 535 628 648 B *[191] A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals. Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In 1884, when we met the Trumaí and Kamayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

B *191 177 535 For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereschu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

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*171 755 704 man takes the strong poisons, "he dies." He lies "dead" in the hammock until his shadow returns. For the time being I should like to ignore what the result of this conception of loss of consciousness is for the conception of death. During his narcosis the witch doctor is able to transform himself into any animal form and immediately reach any place desired. The transformation occurs in such a way that he "enters" into the animal. Even today the best doctors are those who drink poison and transform themselves in the intoxicated state. "These piajes who drink ågokurióku and go to heaven," said Antonio literally, "are very good, they cure everything, and the others who do not take poison, who merely blow with tobacco, they cure also, but they do not cure severe /346/ illness." The origin and the meaning of magic cannot be expressed more clearly; one puts himself into a state of excitement in order to make himself capable of what would otherwise be impossible, he works miracles, in which everyone believes, by stimulating his power of imagination; the ultimate basis of all sorcery is the conviction of the reality of what is dreamed or imagined.

Antonio's statements, in the literal wording, about the visit of a narcotized piaje in heaven will explain the situation better than my interpretation. The docile Bakaïrí have, I can only say, [179] snapped up a few Christian ideas and have made them their own in the most curious distortion; for me, at any rate, it was extremely difficult to remain serious when before my astonished eyes Christ, Mary, and the angels suddenly appeared in Schingú dress amidst beijús and surrounded by gourds filled with starch-paste and yellow pikí juice. At the same time we were assured that the [175] non-Christian ancestors, the "antigos" of the narrative piaje, [173] visited heaven and, drinking poison, changed themselves into all kinds of wild animals. I was given the story when I tried to learn their ideas of heaven.

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772 811 first as the main point. Or would we who lack it and who may also experience confusion ever believe our geographers and historians if they said that the Finns were a nation of tapeworms?

772 773 811 But if the essential distinction is absent, then the matter is entirely different. Then there is nothing to prevent the campo fox, the nocturnal predator who has fire in his eyes glowing in the dark, from giving this fire to human beings by striking it out of his eyes. Or, to take a common variant of the ancestor legend, there is nothing to prevent the jaguar from being the ancestor of a cannibalistic tribe; for it is always emphatically reported that this tribal ancestor "jaguar" killed and devoured the ancestors of the local tribe, Bakaïrí or Paressí. I can state most emphatically that my informant was firmly convinced that the evil ancestor in question in the legend was a jaguar and was not merely called that, although he shot with arrows. To say that the earlier time in which the legend originated only symbolized and the descendants confused names and things is a convenient supposition, but an unreliable one, for in that case the entire tradition would consist of nothing but confusions. The earlier generation had the same basic view as the present one. It explained the cannibalistic custom of the neighboring tribe by descent from the jaguar for whom it is characteristic to devour human beings. They did not know the tribal ancestor, because he cannot be known by any tribe, although he always must have been present. Since the essential distinction between man and animal is lacking, they had no difficulty in concluding that, because these people always devoured human beings, our own forefathers, the tribal ancestor was therefore a jaguar, and their causal requirement was satisfied -- which was much more essential than the possible objection that today the son of a jaguar is always a jaguar and that today, after all, no jaguar shoots with bow and arrow as, of course, the ancestors of the hostile tribe did.

773 811 825 /354/ We understand that the Indian presents animals as though they were persons when he reports their conversations, for one knows that animals call to each other and communicate in loving or threatening tones, but to furnish animals with cultural products and implements seems to us to exceed the limit of what is permissible. In fact, according to the Indian ancestral legends, man

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773 811 825 is supposed to have acquired from the animals all kinds of goods that he possesses. The most diverse animals were "masters" or "owners" of them and the culture hero took them from them. The master of medicinal tobacco and of cotton was the kinkajou, Cercoleptes caudivolvulus; the master of ordinary smoking tobacco, the electric eel; the master of the mandioca, the bagadú fish Phractocephalus; the master of sleep and the buriti hammock, the lizard; the master of the pots filled with water, from which, after they were broken, flowed the Ronuro and the Paranatinga, the ochobi river-snake; master of the sun, the king vulture, Sarcoramphus papa, and so on. How is such nonsense possible? All this, of course, is meant symbolically, says the wearer of the spectacles of civilization, and thus regards the question as answered. I can only laugh heartily when I think of the Indian hunters or fishermen, adhering to their view, as dealing with symbolic animals like the poets, painters, and, not to forget the lower spirits, the patentees of our civilized world inventing their trade-mark -- none of whom maintain close personal acquaintance with the originals of their symbolic animals.

773 811 No, Antonio and his fellow tribesmen would not have understood our type of symbols, let alone discovered some themselves. I do not deny that I was sometimes dumbfounded during our conversation when I was confronted with the simple-hearted belief in the reality of the "fairy-tale" animals and their culture in all its originality, but I was also so thoroughly convinced of its genuineness that I feel duty-bound to reject any explanation that does not fully acknowledge it. I also think the matter is simple enough to understand. The Indian has, in truth, obtained the most important parts of his culture from the persons whom we call animals, [237] and even today he must take them away from them. Teeth, bones, claws, shells are his tools, without which he would be unable [825] to make weapon or house or implement. He owes whatever he can accomplish to the piranha, the dogfish, the monkey, the capybara, the agutí, the giant armadillo, the mollusks, and the legend reports nothing about any of them because every child knows that these animals, the hunting of which is the most important prerequisite for those accomplishments, furnish the most

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●793 811 indispensable things to this day. What is more natural than that he should, when he thinks about it, also derive from the animals the fine and good things about whose origin he knows nothing or, as in the case of cultivated plants, very little? What is more natural than that the lizard, which sleeps for several months, provided sleep (it was drawn out of its eyes), /355/ or that the campo fox, whose eyes shine in the dark when it goes forth for prey at night, provided fire; that the sun, whose nature we shall become acquainted with, was in the possession of the sovereign of the air, the king vulture, whom the other vultures greatly respect, and that water was in the possession of a large river snake? Along with sleep the lizard must have also given up the hammock which goes with it. Now it no longer has any; it was simply taken away, and it was very angry. All those acquisitions were taken away by force or deception; that is why the animals lack them nowadays. Thus the causal requirement of the old, naïve hunters is very agreeably satisfied, and, to be sure, altogether on the foundation of the basic view that animals and human beings are merely persons with different appearances and different equipment.

Modern research has succeeded in tracing a number of the most dangerous illnesses to the presence of bacilli, and what is the result? All kinds of diseases whose cause is still obscure are also attributed to bacilli; thousands of people who have never even seen a microorganism, to say nothing of having any idea as to how the bad animals actually go about producing illness, now suspect them in everything that they eat and seem as familiar with them as with spiders and gnats. I should like to compare these proved morbific agents with the animals which have truly furnished the Indian with the most useful things, and those others that exist only in legend with the fairy-tale animals to which, proceeding along the same trend of thought, he attributes the things of unknown origin. It is a natural procedure to explain the unknown exactly as one does the known.

Sun, fire, water, sleep are things whose first possessors must simply be imagined; for them there is no historical tradition, however dim. It may be different -- not necessarily -- with

2: Steinen--421 €₁D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/355 cont./

773 811 cultivated plants. Medicinal tobacco, it is vaguely recalled, came from the north. Undoubtedly it was furnished by, let us say, a neighboring tribe, but the Bakaïrí have long since forgotten the actual, and in its details very ordinary, event; for many generations nothing has been known except that tobacco was first used for curing in the region where the kinkajou lives. The kinkajou is very rare in the region of the Bakaïrí; Antonio had never seen one, but he knew exactly how it looked, and his description, which was very exact in all its details, along with the name sawári, made it possible for me to recognize it as the phonetically identical yawari of the Makuschí /Macusi/ in Guiana, about which Schomburgk adds in his report that the occurrence of the yawari, according to v. Tschudi, is known in Peru as far as the tenth degree south latitude! Thus the kinkajou, as the characteristic person for the region from which tobacco came, furnished tobacco, just as the king vulture, as the person who comes into the region of the sun, furnished the sun.

/356/ The kinkajou interested the Bakaïrí more than the missing neighboring tribe, and throughout the centuries it remained the same. It was the lord of the northern region, and whatever came from there, whether tobacco or cotton, originated from it; hunters who extended an expedition beyond the ordinary boundaries to the north found it there or it would itself pay occasional visits to the Bakaïrí in the south. The story of the origin of medicinal tobacco and cotton was treated according to the customary and natural schema that the characteristic animal was regarded as the original owner; if, in order to carry out the above comparison with reference to our similar procedure, we put the two diseases in the place of cotton and tobacco, then the legendary bacillus was the kinkajou. The story told about him is merely the answer to the question: "How does it happen that we had no tobacco in former times?" At first it was still known that "such and such a tribe gave it to us," then the name and specific circumstances were forgotten in the course of time and a later generation may perhaps still have heard, "We got it from someone in the region where the kinkajou lives," but such information was bound to fall into the customary schema the

2: Steinen--422E D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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● 703 811 moment sweet curiosity asked further: "Where did those people get their tobacco?" Then there was no better answer, assuming the basic view, than: "From the kinkajou, of course," and people were very satisfied.

In exactly the same manner, as we shall see, the origin of the ordinary smoking tobacco is traced back to a fish which does not occur in the Paranatinga, but lives in the "tobacco river," and the origin of mandioca to a fish likewise not found in the Paranatinga, but which inhabited the "beijú river." Occasionally I did not conceal my skepticism from Antonio -- not often, for, like every believer, he was offended by doubts, the true core of which he himself could not fail to recognize. Then he would either maintain a hurt silence, or he would explain the present condition as the result of magic, or -- and, to be sure, in most cases -- he would simply say: "It is no longer like that now, but it used to be."

"Once upon a time" (the constantly recurring paá of the Tupí legends) is also the signature of the Indian "fairy tales." By far the greatest number of the legends try to explain the origin of something; thus they always deal with events in ancient times, and since they are always to be explained only by something special that happened, the view that there was once a time when the extraordinary was the rule was bound to be established from all this. With the most beautiful logic in the world they arrived at situations where it was always found that the human behavior of animals was the only way out, but a very excellent one. It is very easy to understand the origin of the stories, frequently spiced with a good deal of humor, if only one takes as the point of departure the point which is proved; it is obvious that the fact to be explained could not have led to the story, but rather only the story to the fact.

000 /357/ In a fairy tale* that is very widespread on the Amazon

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* Barbosa Rodriguez, "Poranduba Amazonense /Amazon History/," Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional, Vol. XIV, 2, page III, Rio de Janeiro, 1890.

2- Steinen--424 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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821 Celestial bodies. The Indian observes the figures in the sky and sees in them things with which he is familiar. The sky, "formerly so close," is now very, very high. Only birds that fly a long time might be able to reach it; the medicine man is there in a moment, for him it is "no higher than a house." The characteristics of fire are not attributed to heavenly bodies. The sun is a large ball of the feathers of the red arara and of the toucan, whose feathers also display magnificent orange and red, the moon is a ball of the yellow tail feathers of the weaverbird (Cassicus, japú), which the Bakaïrí /358/ wears in his ears. In the evening the sun is covered with a large pot which is lifted off again in the morning. For the time being I shall ignore the person who takes care of that; this person is an addition or supplement of little concern at the beginning of the development, for if the sun is a feather ball and this feather ball disappears for a while, it is obvious that someone covers it up during that time, whether with a pot, as the Bakaïrí maintain, or by placing it in a gourd, as the Paressí believe.

During the rainy season, when the days are long, the sun is carried by a snail (Bulimus), in the dry season, when they are short, by a hummingbird. it is well known that the wing beat of this little bird is so rapid that the eye cannot follow it. During the night the services of these animals is reversed; in the rainy period the hummingbird, and in the dry period the snail, drags the covered sun-ball back to its old place. For the phases of the moon the Bakaïrí starts with the full moon, when we see the ball in its entirety. A lizard, which we notice along the edge, comes first to take it along, on the second day an ordinary armadillo, and then a giant armadillo whose fat body soon conceals the yellow feathers altogether. It should be noted that the armadillos or tatús /tatous/ have a curved shape, are nocturnal animals, and are hunted by moonlight.

821 773 The eclipses are explained in a similar way. Antonio did not regard the phenomenon as in any way lawful, however, and explained it case by case. Thus once, when he was still small,

/358 cont./

821 a sorcerer on the Paranatinga changed himself into an anú, a
793 bluish-black bird (Crotophaga) and covered the sun for a while with his wings. On January 28, 1888, there was an eclipse of the moon which I called to Antonio's attention. Deprived of surprise because of my announcement beforehand, he nevertheless made his usual explanation that the lizard and the tatús were at work. I let him look at the moon through an opera glass and wanted him to tell me about the mountains. "A little dirt from the tatú has remained behind," he replied. Thus, with the grubbing and digging there was added a new circumstance which induced the ancient Bakaïrí to see in the curved form of the unilluminated part the armadillo in particular.

171 821 In these explanations, however, there is a definite contradiction of the views of the Karaiben /Carib/ base-people /Grundvolk/, which are handed down to us in the words for sun,*

*Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, the table for "Fire, Sun, Wood, Tree," p. 278 and pp. 279 to 281, as well as Durch Central-brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 306 /omitted in the translation (1: Steinen, this file)/.

and in the same manner the explanations of the present-day Paressí, who also have the feathers and the armadillos, contradict the presumed views among the Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ base-people. The words for "fire" and "sun" have the same roots and are in part differentiated only by reduplication, or are even identical from one tribe to another. Thus, in the formation of the words, warmth and light must have been the first characteristics of the sun comprehended. The pot, too, with which the
821 Bakaïrí have the sun /359/ covered at night, is also a reference to the hearth, and it proves to us, since the Bakaïrí had no pots in former times, the comparatively late embellishment of the hypothesis. I modestly objected to Antonio: "But the sun is hot, after all, and there are no feathers, are there?" An objection which I bitterly regretted as soon as it had escaped my lips.

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821 side, Aldebaran is a thicker lump, the "father of the heap." "In the sky there are mandioca, plantings, forest, everything, everything." Festival ornaments too. Capella is a small husk such as the Bakaïrí wears in his ear for sticking a feather in from the front, two other stars of the Charioteer are the husks of the Kayabí /Cayabi/, the feathers of which are inserted in the back. One star, which one was uncertain but it seemed to me Procyon, is an ear-piercer, or probably more accurately, the hole pierced by him. The Twins /360/ are the holes of a large flute. Canopus did not have a name. The Southern Cross was a bird snare on a twig, and the two large stars of the Centaur represented two little sticks that belong to it. With the snare a mutum cavallo (Crax) had been caught, which one recognizes in a dark area of the Milk Way nearby: again one suggestion releases another and the one confirms the other. Not far distant, corresponding approximately to the stars of the Flying Fish and Argo, stands a sokko heron with a little basket full of small fish: lambaré, trahira, jejum. Scorpio is a carrying-net for children.

821 The Milky Way definitely attracted the greatest attention
973 by far with its light and dark parts, and, next to the sun and moon, it seems to have furnished the bulk of the raw material for the entire body of legend. Whereas the stars are granules, holes, net knots, pegs and the ends of posts, here animal figures also appear, such as the aforementioned mutung hen and the sokko heron. The Milky Way itself is a huge drum-tree that lies on the ground, "like the one in the third village on the Kuliseu," which is drummed for the festival up above too; one can see its roots spreading out in the south. Keri and Kame, the two culture heroes, from whom the Bakaïrí learned their festival dances, accomplished all the deeds of their youth, which we have yet to discuss, in the vicinity of this "sata" tree. In the zenith is found the dark hole, which one can see only on the clearest nights, where the king vulture came out carrying the feather-ball of the sun in its claws, and through which the medicine man who was entertained by Christ (cf. p. 346) flew back to earth. The starless area to the east of the Cross, the Coalsack, is the hole that Keri and Kame dug in

/360 cont./

821 order to watch as their dead grandmother Mero was burned. They
973 had set the fire themselves -- one can still see it in the large Magellanic Cloud -- while another, the small Magellanic Cloud, arose through their carelessness, which I shall speak of later in detail. Keri in particular is the hero of all these stories: he caught the mutung with the bird snare; he robbed the king vulture of the sun-ball by assuming the shape of a tapir whose dark forms one can still clearly distinguish in the Argo part of the Milky Way. Besides the tapir, one can also see a jaguar and an ant bear of the legend. In fact, one need not be an Indian in order to observe the animals; I, too, distinctly recognized the tapir in particular.

821 The native predominantly sees animals up there for the
151 same reason that he sees them down here in all kinds of things that remind him of some animal merely by some small characteristic; he cannot do otherwise because he apperceives chiefly in accordance with his hunter interests. It did not escape him, however, that the animals and things in the sky have a different appearance than their originals on earth, according to which they are determined. /361/ They are only figures. And yet they are more. For even though they may have been made at some time, he cannot regard them as works of art like his animal stools or sand drawings, because they move and are in the midst of a highly variable shifting of wind, clouds, and weather that takes place independently without one's seeing any human being. They must be bewitched.

972 All the more so since the same result is reached in another
973 way. They are necessarily the oldest animals and things that there are. Each earlier generation, no matter what it thought of them, saw them as complete as does the present one, whereas, according to all present-day and earlier experience, the rivers and trees and inhabitants of the earth of all kinds are small at first and then grow big. Now all the ancestors have disappeared; year in, year out those who die are always disappearing -- where else should the oldest people be than among the oldest things? But to
[961] die is to be bewitched and transformed; just as the medicine man who takes poison and dies changes himself into any animal shape desired.

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772 desired. Therefore, we have up there the oldest bewitched peo-
773 ple and things. The feather ball, the vulture, the jaguar, the tapir prove to the Indian the deeds of the oldest medicine men. The only thing needed for a fully logical conclusion would be to regard every dream as a bewitched state.

793 I have already discussed in the story about the vulture and
821 the turtle, how the coherent text of the legends comes into being, even before a dim historical tradition furnishes special material. There is no lack of material, since the various animals and things which one sees side by side up there must stimulate, according to their characteristics, all kinds of notions which explain
539 their being together. Thus legend tells how the king vulture, before Keri took the sun away from him, appeared with it in the dark hole of the Milky Way and then flew around in the sky. Well, the sun is apperceived as a feather ball; during the day it reaches the highest heights of the heavens where at night one sees a dark hole, and there the "red urubu" or magnificently colored king vulture, "the prince and ruler of his kindred (Brehm)," is the most conspicuous citizen in the realm of the air -- when this material has been gathered, only the inquisitive question is required and the connection cannot fail to appear. There is not much bother about the moon. It was "together with the sun at first"; later Keri and Kame divided the feathers between them.

I was given the following story about the five stars in Perseus. The giant armadillo -- we have seen that it, as the largest of the spherical tatús, leaving its dirt behind, eventually covers the moon -- met Keri on his way. It was carrying a basket with pikí fruit, gave Keri some, and went on. Keri called after it, it stopped, again gave Keri some, and said: "I shall not give more." Then he seized the tatú, the fruits rolled all around, and the tatú worked its way into the ground. Keri made himself claws out of jatobá resin and dug it out. Again it worked its way /362/ in, again he dug it out. This happened five times in all and the five holes are the five stars. Therefore we have here only a meeting between Keri and the tatú already given, we know furthermore from the flute (Twins) that stars are thought of as holes; what is

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539 more natural than that the tatú, well known for quickly digging itself in, should, as soon as it eludes its pursuer, make a group of those star holes. All that was missing for establishing the game of escape and pursuit was the quarrel, and the "apple of discord," for which again is chosen the favorite fruit, which is round and has butter-yellow meat, but any other might have been chosen. In short, the story originates, without any great power of invention, by making a connection between the characteristics of one of the heavenly animals that presented itself through the natural stimulus and a suitable group of stars that attracts the attention of the inquiring mind. Then the name runs "the giant armadillo comes out." All that is required is the interest that produces the question, and the explanatory ideas are inevitable.

●773 128 One generation may have contributed this, another generation that. To continue the analysis up to the final details is simply impossible, if one because the comparative material with other Karaiben tribes is very meager.

761 055 812 Transformation. A large part of the Bakaïrí explanation of nature rests on the supposition of sorcery. They have no development, but only transformation. This takes place in two ways.

The first is that a dead person is blown upon and comes to life, or that a thing is blown upon and comes to life. To the dead person the breath which he lacks is given back; to the thing, breath is imparted and with it life. This blowing, proceeding from the most natural attempt at resuscitation, and the tobacco-blowing of the modern medicine man must not be confused. The weak newborn babies in Maigéri (cf. p. 392), for whose life one feared, were blown upon day and night, but not with tobacco. It was only in practice that the two methods merged. The blowing of tobacco smoke on a patient was merely added by transference to the smoking of the doctor -- which, as we have seen (cf. p. 407), is merely the easiest and most pleasant of the various types of narcosis otherwise induced by drinking, on the use of which his art seems to be based. It has probably long been forgotten that by

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761 blowing it was intended to breathe in the breath. But in the
755 legends the dead and things are always brought to life by simple
812 but indispensable blowing, and the Bakaïrí sometimes translates epeheni, "to blow," into the Portuguese with rezar, "to pray, to bless," while ordinarily he uses soprar, "to blow," or assoprar, "to blow upon," just as the substantive related to epeheni is sapehénu, "wind."

Although I said that things become living or animate through blowing, on closer observation this is a very incorrect expression. The /363/ sorcerer accomplishes far more than breathing a "soul" or, as into the dead, "life," into them. We learn this from the most important example that human beings are made from things: men from arrows, women from maize pestles, after the necessary arrows and pestles have been carved out of cane and wood. To be sure, there were always Bakaïrí, but if there was a scarcity of them, the culture hero made new ones by fashioning arrows out of ubá reed, thrusting them upright into the ground, and blowing on them. In the same way each of the other tribes were made out of the arrow reed that they still carry today and that therefore still differentiates them today; the European was made from a wood resembling the stock of his gun. The fundamental observation, which is later, as always, regarded as confirmation of the proceedings described, is that the tribes are differentiated by their arrows. Moreover, the arrow is the characteristic feature of the man. The women, on the other hand, come into being when maize pestles are carved, set upright against the mortar, and get the breath of life by being blown upon; those carved out of good wood start working immediately, the others are idle.

773 812 [619]

Neither arrows nor pestles are given a "soul," but rather the whole "person." When the sorcerer is finished, the man stands beside his arrow, the woman beside her pestle. The story-teller himself seems to be not entirely at ease about the process, for the sorcerer, as soon as he has blown, "goes to one side a little" and upon his return finds the men or women finished. An insect, which through mimicry has come to look like a jatobá leaf and is called "jatobá leaf" by the Bakaïrí, was created by blowing on the leaf; we might say "it came alive" or call it a "transformed leaf." The person is added to the already present reed, wood, leaf.

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773 812 I mean to say that these cases are essentially different from those in the legends where things are "personified," that is, speak and act like animal and human being. The falling turtle of the Amazon legend sees a boulder in the direction of her fall and calls out to it: "Get out of my way!" Obediently the stone removes itself and she falls on soft ground. The stone, which understands her words, could also have replied. Keri quarrels with the sky and, angered, goes over to the earth with his people, where the Bakaïrí, as a result, live today. The wind is called in order to tear down a tree. In these cases there is no blowing or sorcery. The storyteller lets the things hear, speak, in order to say that they do or do not want something, are tractable or refractory, and need not realize, as we do, that he is thus endowing them with a "soul." "How could the sky talk?" "I don't know, at that time it talked." More was not to be learned from Antonio. If today in ordinary life a thing suddenly causes harm, that is the fault of an evil sorcerer, whereas an animal acts by itself.

754 756 812 /364/ The second type of transformation is that of the sorcerer himself into any animal shape desired. No one seems to know how he does this. He does not actually become the animal itself, however; he always goes into the animal and is always implanted in the animal; in fact, he can be in the foot of the tapir and seize the vulture. Now does the "soul" go out of one person and into the other? But in that case at least we ought not ask either where the soul of the animal or where the body of the culture hero remains, or whether the "shade," which in the case of the modern, narcotized medicine man lying in the hammock leaves the body for the transformation into jaguar or snake, was previously "inside" the medicine man, or whether the shade can get inside an animal- - I believe we are overdoing a good thing if we speak of the activities of the "soul" among primitive peo-
[774] ples. I, at any rate, merely had the impression that with regard to the "soul" the Indians sometimes think of the shade, sometimes of the breath, but do not account for all the specific details, and instead always preserve the image of the entire "living" personality. It seems to me one comes closest to the real situation if one

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754 imagines the sorcerer as being in an animal approximately like the
756 Indian in an animal mask, who now is a dove, for example, and
812 behaves like a dove in voice and movement, but remains fellow tribesman X and is therefore able to fetch a gourd bowl full of pogu from the women, although he is a bird.

713 [712] Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The general basis of the world view of the Bakaïrí is his relationship to animal life. It assumes, however, one might say, that his science and poetry are of heavenly origin. The oldest Bakaïrí lived in heaven; this is proved to us by all that we know about the sun and moon, and everything that we see up there, the figures of the Milky Way, the starless areas, and the shining Magellanic Clouds. Strangely enough, there was nothing to be discovered in the way of ideas about thunderstorms, windstorms, clouds, rain, which are productive in a similar sense among other peoples. One had the impression that meteorology was still quite unexplored. There always remained the astronomical heavenly animals, to which were added the personages of the ancestor legend. The second main source of legend material flows in the memories of the tribe, but the two streams are so tightly intermingled that it is scarcely possible to distinguish what was originally supplied by the one and what by the other. The jaguar, behind which is concealed a cannibalistic neighboring tribe of ancient times, has become one with the jaguar of the Milky Way and to top it all, the zoological varieties of the jaguar family are available as a number of brothers.

[777] The names Keri and Kame show that foreign, and, to be sure, Aruak influence has played a significant role. These are the names for moon and sun of the Nu-Aruak tribes; they are not Karaiben /365/ words at all.* A coincidence is completely

*Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, p. 57. The Island Karaiben have a benign "deity," ischeiri, which can scarcely be connected with keri phonetically; if there is a connection and ischeiri is ancient

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● 773

Karaiben, one would suppose that the Bakaïrí word would have agreed with the Aruak word.

out of the question, because the two names always go together, both as moon and sun among the Nu-Aruak, as well as in the Bakaïrí legend in which the two heroes are twins. Except that kéri is moon, and kâme, kâmu, sun, whereas in the Bakaïrí legend Keri is the chief person, Kame usually plays the "fool," and Keri is allotted the sun, Kame the moon. Finally, kamu, sun, seems to be contained in Kamuschini, the oldest person in the legend. It is an important circumstance that tradition is [562] transmitted preferably by the women. Antonio had all the myths from his mother and he told me that this was the rule. In that case a constant differentiation must necessarily be assumed; many alien women were taken into the Bakaïrí tribe in the course of time. In legend Keri appears as the culture hero of the Bakaïrí, Kame as the one of the Arinos tribes. Old Caetano also designated the two simply with the Bakaïrí words for sun and moon in the form of proper names: Tschischi and Nuna. It was amusing enough when he said in Bakaïrí: "Keri took tschischi," and in Portuguese: "Tschischi tomou o sol."

With the two brothers we gradually arrive at the other end of the legend of creation, its termination in the actual ancestor legend or tribal history. After the events in heaven have come to an end, that is to say, after Keri and Kame were born and brought up and accomplished their deeds, to which are owed the possession of daylight, the interchange of heaven and earth, sleep, fire, the rivers, they come to the Paranatinga, move to the old seat of the Bakaïrí at the salto /waterfall/, make various tribes out of arrows, teach festival dances, procure tobacco, mandioca, and the like, and finally depart, never to return. 773 Where in this is the end of pure legend and the beginning of 773 history, from which some actual facts are supposed to have been preserved in the accounts concerning the rivers, concerning the relationship to other tribes, and concerning the origin of cultivated

/365 cont./

173 plants? Indeed, the Kayabí /Cayabi/ appear when it is still
173 night on earth, before the sun has been fetched by Keri!

I should be happy if I could answer the question even somewhat satisfactorily. Antonio was able to enumerate for me [601] the names of his ancestors up to his great-great-great-grandfather Mariukara who was supposed to have lived near the salto of the Paranatinga; this, if one figures 30 years per generation, would go back to the middle of the eighteenth century. Assuming the reliability of the statement, we would have what would probably be the natural limit in the case of a tribe without writing and without any particular carriers of tradition, an oral tradition that extends personally to the grandfather and, since the latter likewise /366/ could have been instructed by his grandfather, to the grandfather of the grandfather. If, mindful of the various life spans, we allow two more generations, we shall probably have reached the limit of credibility. None of our Indians doubts that with these ancestors we arrive at the time when Keri and Kame fetched the sun. To be sure, there were Bakaïrí before that and Kayabí were also already present before the sky and earth were interchanged. Since I am inclined to think the best of the good Bakaïrí, I believe after all that we shall be completely fair to them if we have them living on the Paranatinga since time immemorial and have them learn there about mandioca and tobacco.

Now are Keri and Kame the names of two specific chiefs who really lived several centuries ago and who are now exaggeratedly credited with having regulated the course of the sun and providing the Bakaïrí and their neighbors with sleep, fire, rivers, etc.? The history of our hunter tribes living for centuries as extended families is not very well suited for creating personalities whose names could not be forgotten. But aside from this, if only the one name "moon" existed, one might still be able to imagine a real ancestor with this name, but it is asking too much for us to assume two with the names "sun" and "moon."

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173 Could we not regard Keri and Kame as personifications of the
173 sun and moon? Only they were not moon and sun or feather balls, but were merely called that; the celestial bodies sun and moon were not made out of Bakaïrí bones. Now, the oldest things and the oldest human beings belong together; the father of the tribe is the natural owner of the sun. If, in order to explain his origin, I have him come forth from some kind of substance and be animated, there is nothing there to be personified, but only to be named. The person is quite automatically furnished by the founder of the tribe, who is completely unknown historically, but is certainly to be taken for granted; it is therefore only a question of where the name came from.

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174 In the first place one should consider whether the names do not have a geographical meaning. Let us orient ourselves! The potter tribes of the Kulisehu are, in our latitudes, the easternmost outposts of the Nu-Aruak. The huge main body lives to the west of the Arinos, the tributary of the Tapajoz. Here we have first of all, in the source region of the Arinos and Juruena, the Paressí group, formerly numerous and made up of many separate tribes, of whom we know that today they have shifted southwards. Farther to the west there are huge areas inhabited by the Nu-Aruak. The Paressí who visited us in Cuyabá called the sun kamái and the Arinos, as the river toward the rising sun that bounded their territory to the east, kame-uhína = sun-river. Still, it could have been some other tribe of the Paressí group; it could certainly have been ancestors of the /367/ Mehinakú tribes, who today have advanced eastward as far as the Kulisehu,* from whom the stimulus

* They are the very ones who have "sun" and "moon" in the unaltered form "kámе" and "kéri," while the Paressí of Diamantino had kamai, sun, but kayö, moon, which, to be sure, does not mean much with respect to the old Paressí, who were split up into many subtribes.

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101 174 for the Bakaïrí could have come in a time that disappeared long ago, it is possible that the tribe whose women once influenced the Bakaïrí tradition so profoundly has not existed in independent form for a long time -- all these details are not to be determined. But it does not matter much. Of course, it could be significant that among the Paressí the Arinos is called sun-river, Kame-river, or east-river. For the tribes which, according to the Bakaïrí, were made by the hero Kame are "toda gente de Arinos," "all the people of the Arinos!" They enumerated the Paressí, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mundurukú /Mundurucu/, Suyá (formerly on the Arinos), Maué (on the Tapajoz). Keri, on the other hand, made "Bakaïrí /Bacairi/, Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Nahuquá, Bororó, Kayapó /Cayapo/, Kayabí /Cayabi/," that is to say, the tribes living east and south of the Arinos. The division has nothing whatever to do with a distinction according to languages, for there are Nu-Aruak and Gês on both sides; it embraces two large, spatially affiliated groups which are by no means lying strictly west-east; the one contains western, northwestern, and northern tribes, from the vantage point of the Bakaïrí, the other eastern, southeastern, and southern tribes. The chief representatives of the two groups, however, the Bakaïrí and Paressí, actually reside in such a way that the former live east of the latter. We thus have the following situation: 1. Kame = Nu-Aruak "sun," but among the Bakaïrí hero of the second rank and lord of the moon, is the tribal ancestor of the western and northern tribes, and 2. Keri = Nu-Aruak "moon," but among the Bakaïrí the most favored hero and lord of the sun, is the tribal ancestor of the eastern and southern tribes.

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Here I should like to draw on an interesting example found in Alexander von Humboldt. ** In the vicinity of Maípure, the

** Reise in die Aequinoktial-Gegenden /Journey into the Equinoctial Regions/, III, p. 173.

place named after a Nu-Aruak tribe, stand two rocks in the cataracts of the Orinoco, one of which, "the so-called Keri or

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174 pair of twins were born who "were called" Keri and Kame and who, after they were grown up, brought us sun and moon, which, naturally, before they knew anything about the sun and moon, were called Keri and Kame. The name of the two best things which they brought to us, the Bakaïrí and Aruak, is the one which they themselves had, and that is how we know where the two things came from.

In any case, I absolutely deny that sun and moon were personified. To be sure, if I had not definitely established that they are regarded as feather balls and as things which are in the possession of persons, if we had only the names of the culture heroes "Sun" and "Moon," I would have to see this case, too, settled according to the convenient schema of personification. But that is out of the question here. The Indian concludes that someone must have brought the things, and this is, of course, the two tribal ancestors, who must necessarily have existed. And whose names he finds at hand.

174 Old Caetano said they are called Tschischi or Keri and
● 773 Nuna or Kame. He used the Karaiben and Aruak words for sun and moon as proper names interchangeably at will, except that he reserved for his Bakaïrí (in spite of kéri = moon) the chief person, Keri, as the sun. Keri is always the clever one in the stories and Kame the stupid one! "Kame," Antonio said, "is a booby (é gente bobo) and does everything wrong, but not Keri, oh no!" With this endeavor, which is natural for every tribe, I come back to the connection with the geographical distribution and also to the explanation. Two brothers, "Sun" and "Moon," were the tribal ancestors of the Nu-Aruak and Bakaïrí, who in olden times lived together at a certain period. Naturally, each tribe chose "Sun" for its hero and gave "Moon" to the other. The Aruak women said, our Kame (sun) and your Keri (moon); the Bakaïrí men, our Tschischi (sun) and your Nuna (moon). Thus, for the children of the two, the ancestors of the present-day Bakaïrí, who were taught by both and were more concerned about the deeds of the heroes than about the word explanation, called the one who possessed the sun Tschischi, as the fathers called him, or Keri,

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174 as the mothers called him, and the one who possessed the moon
• 173 Nuna, as the fathers called him, or Kame, as the mothers called him. The Bakairi and their neighbors made Tschischi-Keri, the Aruak and their neighbors made Nuña-Kame, /370/ in other words Kame, the Arinos people living to the northwest with the Paressí, and Keri, the tribes living with the Bakaïrí to the south and east. There is no question of a conscious, primary distinction on the basis of the directions; this distinction could only have arisen secondarily by the roundabout way of Keri's having already become the chief person and the possessor of the sun; for children could not have simply called east and sun what their mothers called west and moon, and it is not an incomprehensible misunderstanding (as I myself believed in the beginning) that brought about the exchange of names, but the very understandable claim on both sides to descent from the more important of the two fraternal ancestors.

[173] I believe that the material of the astronomical observations and that of the historical memories were handled in exactly the same way: in both cases the authors of the deed were added to the story, as were the men to the arrows and the women to the maize pestles. The deed is historical, the persons are only to the extent that they are the chiefs, medicine men, or tribal ancestors whom one must assume for the beginning.

173 Let us consider a few important details of the legend: Keri and Kame are twins. Their mother is "married" to the jaguar, but it is especially emphasized that they are only his foster sons and that their mother, even though she need not be a virgin, did not conceive them by her husband; she swallowed two finger bones from Bakaïrí, which the jaguar stored away at home as arrow points, and became pregnant from them. We come across the same features in many American legends. First of all, several brothers are born as the original ancestors, and, secondly, the mother is often virginal. There is no lack of profound interpre-
[171] tations. Among the Paressí there are ten brothers, among other tribes four; the number depends either on the need, how many independent family trees were necessary for the tribes who lived

/370 cont./

•773 next to one another and felt ultimately related by kinship and marriage, or it is regulated in one way or another according to the directions. In view of the Indians' conception of paternity, one may rather take it for granted that the mother is virginal. The son is always the little father; the first in line, if he is to be really first, may not, of course, have a father. A mother may exist, but the problem is how she becomes pregnant. In our case it is very happily solved; Keri and Kame each spring from a bone that gets into the mother's womb, but these bones are arrow points, and thus the common origin of the man from the arrow is preserved here, too. It is inconsequential that the bones are Bakaïrí bones, which probably points to the blending of various legends. "There were always Bakaïrí"; Ewaki, too, Keri's and Kame's aunt, already belongs among the "relatives of the Bakaïrí," and Keri only makes Bakaïrí when a shortage occurs. Keri, however, always remains the "grandfather of the Bakaïrí."

/371/ As for the mother herself, she was made out of, or more accurately into, a maize pestle carved out of pikí wood, and this, in the clear analogy to the origin of the men out of arrows, should sufficiently guarantee the purely human conception of her nature. Anyone who, in spite of this, however, wants to see in her a personfication, for example, of the morning twilight from which the sun breaks forth, will be expressing what I believe to be a very excellent idea which has only one failing, that he thought of it and not the Indian. I shall gladly, however, contribute to the myth-making concerning the myth: five maize pestles were animated; two of the women thus conjured up did not want to work and were immediately killed, whereas the future mother of the twins was one of the industrious ones; thus, diligence is personified here, and diligence is as closely connected as one could wish to the morning twilight when it is already busily awake while laziness is still asleep.

The morning twilight disappears with the light of day, and for this reason, it is explained, the mother of the culture heroes dies. I find it very cruel that the mother does not come alive

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•773 again as evening twilight. But I must admit, this feature of the death of the mother, often observed in the American creation legends, is appropriate here too. And there, to be sure, my beautiful explanation about diligence comes to nought, for with the break of day this should be awakened to full life. Thus, I believe it is better not to put too high a value on the generalization of any fate of the mother -- dying happens very readily in the myths -- but rather to examine in each individual case to what extent death is useful for the aims of the storytellers. In our case both death itself, as the motif for the continuation of the story, and the manner in which it is combined with birth are very useful. The mother is killed by the mother-in-law because she is regarded as a Bakaïrí, and the mother-in-law and her tribe were hostile to the Bakaïrí and devoured as many of them as possible. Keri and Kame take revenge on her; she, too, is killed, and when she is burned the Magellanic Clouds arise; this fire again plays an important role for the development of the heroes. Then, however, Keri and Kame were cut out of the dead mother, and that is, after all, a circumstance which has a more startling relation to the miraculous birth, albeit fateful to the mother, of two great medicine men who soon accomplish so much than it has to the death of the personified morning-twilight! The morning twilight, moreover, like the sun, is regarded as feathers which the vulture brings in order not to have to give up the sun itself.

If only we would take the legends as what they are to the Indian himself rather than as what they could be to us and, I must admit, what they could become for him, with the advancement of a higher culture embellishing the childlike origins with a thousand arabesques. The Indian imagines the sun as a feather [171] ball -- and not only /372/ the Bakaïrí and Paressí do that, but also the Bororó -- and he is supposed to imagine abstract "light" as a person!

In the American legends the "god of light" brings "civilization" and there is seen in this a memory of a migration from the east or an origin of civilization from the east. It is indeed strange

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793 how powerfully, from time immemorial, civilization was seized by the attraction toward the west; all the tribes who bury their dead -- since they cannot place a compass in the grave -- with the face toward the rising sun, are supposed to have come from the east. "Where does Keri live?" I asked Antonio. "In heaven." "But in which direction?" "In the east; that is where he keeps the sun. The pot that covers it at night stands in his house." Old Caetano called Keri the "Imperador" /emperor/, and he, too, had him living in the east, namely, in Rio de Janeiro. I do not see the slightest reason for mixing up the first act in heaven of the Keri myth with a migration myth. The sun was there before Keri; he simply regulated its course. If he goes with the sun, he must live in the east or the west; the Bakaïrí decided on the east and could now have easily come to the conclusion, which they did not draw, that their ancestors came from there. The ancestors, however, could not very well have lived in the east wherever this conclusion is drawn. It need not cause surprise, however, that Keri goes with the sun, since he is merely the person who was added to the sun in the story by way of explanation, and since the person who is supposed to represent the founder of the tribe and who is linked with the most important achievements has been added to the story, the culture hero must also be the "god of light."

II. The Texts.

000 The parents of Keri and Kame. Origin and death of the mother. The latter avenged. Sun, sleep, and buriti hammock. Heaven and earth interchanged. Fire. Rivers. To the salto of the Paranatinga. House, fishing, festival dances, tribes. Departure of Keri and Kame. Tobacco and cotton. Mandioca; deer antlers. The ugly ostrich. Keri and the campo fox out hunting. The jaguar and the ant bear.

128 113 539 I have published the original texts of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ legends, with interlinear translation, in the Bakaïrí-Grammatik.

/237 cont./

193 first person plural inclusive and exclusive, familiar in the aba-ñeẽ, is alien to the Kɤ̃ura-itano. Amaremo, "you," second person plural, is obviously of secondary formation: mo indicates plural, re is the emphatic particle, and ama is the pronoun for the second person singular.

Another series of lesser used pronouns: ahe, mahe, kɤ̃idahe.

The adjective, generally put after the substantive, is, like the latter, affected by time and number. Comparatives are avoided. A concept close to that of the superlative is expressed either with the emphatic particle or by means of the addition of certain words such as kɤ̃úru, "indeed" (comparable to the French bon, tout de /238/ bon, kɤ̃ura in the Bacaeri has, among others, the meaning of "good"); ãwakukeba, "it is not a joke," etc.

193 The determinatives are affected by time and number.
801 There are only three cardinal numbers: tokale, "one"; ahaʔe, "two"; ahewaλ or ahewanela, "three." Steinen gave to Antonio, the Indian who was his informant in the Xingú region, the following sentence, "At first he (the child) walks like an animal, on all fours," and obtained only: çaʔuɤ̃õe anaʔito ara ãhe iwodo adakɤ̃obodili, that is, "he walks with the two arms." To the minds of the Bacaeris, rather than to produce a number four, it seemed easier to invent a whole story whereby Cemimu (Morcego /bat/) had a son by the daughter of Pau de Morcego /"bat wood"; Andira/ (Põdiki), and, when he found out about the paternity, he became angry at the child, breaking its knees with an arrow; since then children walk first with the two arms before they walk with the two feet (6).

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• 773 6. The matter of knees seems to have caused the minds of the Bacaeris much trouble. Mapinukai, one of their ancestors, had knees like those of a

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chicken; having won a race against Keri and Came, however, the latter broke them, and since then the knees of human beings have been as they are today.

193 As for adverbs, suffice it to say that they follow or precede the verb and may receive possessive and time.

Prepositions, which are numerous, always come after the substantive, and we shall give merely: da, which indicates "place where"; eina or eira, "place to where," generally elided to ra or na, with the preceding vowel nasalized; ohe, õro, "upon"; a~e, "with," meaning company, ~e, "with," instrument. The preposition de /Port./, in the sense of the English "from" or the German aus, is represented by a complicated form.

/239/ An explanation of the verbs, however superficial, would take us far afield: many points are yet to be studied, and while we are familiar with the common forms, they are not yet sufficiently analyzed.

Steinen divides verbs into two classes, in one of which the preterit is formed with raki, in the other with taki; we may accept this classification, which, on the whole, is satisfactory and lends itself perfectly to our present purposes.

Verbs have two affirmative imperatives in the second person singular, and one negative; they also have what may be called an imperative of the first person plural.

The indicative has three past tenses, which may be called remote /remoto/, intermediate /médio/, and immediate /flagrante/, since the latter, which is formed with raki or taki, may also indicate the immediate future or present.

They would seem to have two present tenses: one, in which he or ce is added to the radical, and followed by the personal pronoun; the other, uniting personal pronouns, the radical of the verb, and the auxiliary of the substantive verb,

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796 for now merely stressing the following on this point: the masked dances and festivals are true religious ceremonies.

796 Let us now consider the piahi, whose important role has
756 already been indicated.

One word suffices to describe him: the piahi is a Yamũra.

Piahi is a word that, with slight variations, appears in several South American languages and, like Carahiba can be interpreted in various ways. In Bacaeri it is related perhaps to epiwado, "payment," an idea whose scope we have already had occasion to mention. Basically /261/ it means the curer, the doctor. Thus it must not be confused with "sorcerer": ome-odo, "the lord of poison," may take a person's health and life; amapõçodo, "the lord of the hand of the dead," can vanquish the "lord of poison"; but both are mortal, while the curer is immortal and controls the forces of nature.

756 A few examples taken at random will show how the piahi appears to the mind of the Bacaeri.

796 The son of a curer was walking with his father, when
756 suddenly he was attacked by a jaguar. He defended himself
● 793 as best he could, and, arriving home, he said: I have beaten a jaguar.--You are lying, said the curer, you have beaten me. This proves that the curer can get into the bodies of animals, or, to use the native expression, "make an animal his shirt."

Parutamido killed a tatou at the edge of a lake, cut it open, washed it, and refused to hand it over to the Yamũra who demanded it in the water, as an animal of his creation (iñi). To punish him, the Yamũra drowned him. When some time had passed without news of him, a curer who was his brother-in-law dreamed of what had happened to him. He went into the lake, where the Yamũra explained why he had drowned Parutamido, treated him very well, presented him with minxãu, with beijũs, and taught him the dance of the Kʌritówo. This shows what different relations the yamũras

/261 cont./

776 have with the piahi and with the common people (wanololo,
756 from waono, "first"; cf. Ger. "der erste der beste" /first come
● 773 first served/.

At the waterfalls of the Paranatinga, a fearsome place
776 where Keri and Came tossed the Mama, an enchanted red
778 stone /262/ with which they killed Mero and Arimoto, there
756 is underneath the Mama the dream (Vêdu) which they tore from the lizard's eyes. There dwells the father of smallpox (turi); those who come near him fall ill; when the time for the leaping of the matrimxans /a kind of fish/ comes, anyone nearby who talks or laughs is thrown into the water. The curer runs no risk by coming near; if he becomes angry, he can bless the sleep and this one gets up and wanders off.

756 How does the curer reach this fullness of powers which in his discourses he so often hurls at those whom he contemptuously calls "common people"? Through a very long and painful apprenticeship, which few persons have the courage to undergo to the end and to the letter.

First of all, the curer candidate (piahi-he-ini) must find an experienced curer who will tell him what he must do and protect him against the enemies whom he is bound to encounter. On his part, in addition, the future curer must not leave a single breach through which the enemy, the Karówi, might enter, the so envious and so evil yamũras, whose principal occupation, it would seem, is to go in search of the slightest carelessness in order to punish it inexorably.

Such is the object of the rigorous training to which he must submit if he wishes to rise to the heights where the true curer dwells.

[296] The novice begins by drinking various drugs, such as
[825] timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos, in order to learn
[262] the language of animals and of Karowi, a sort of Curupira; he cannot eat pirão, mingáu, fat, meat, lambari /a kind of fish/, flying things, /263/ tamanduas, or honey; his food consists exclusively of beijú and polvilho broth.

173 /16 cont./ undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer To
648 the Kayabí than in later times, because they had moved their
726 aldea successively farther upriver? But hostilities with their
727 enemies then had still lasted. One night in a raid the Kayabí
361 had killed Felipe's father and carried away a child. On this account some 20 Bakairí men had undertaken an expedition for revenge and had killed two Kayabí men and carried away two girls, who were living at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions in the aldea situated on the Paranatinga River, where they were married to two Bakairí men and were called Luiza and Maria. When I met Luiza, in the year 1927, among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, she was an old woman. Given the fact that the population of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River had dwindled to so few individuals, even at their later location, the Kayabí remained a danger for them.

648 The Bakairí were known by the Paressí as old neighbors,
727 and the Paressí, Charlotta, who was the wife of Cacique Felipe, had been carried away from Diamantino by the Bakairí. (15)

15. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 122. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 3 4.

174 From the extraordinary concordance of the legends of the Paressí
648 with those of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River, noted by
177 Karl von den Steinen, it follows that in earlier times, there was extensive contact between the western Bakairí and the
174 Paressí. (16) Unfortunately we do not know the legends of the
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16. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 364 and 365.

eastern Bakairí, who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, so that we do not know to what extent their legends

/16 cont./

correspond to those of their western fellow countrymen. From the fact that the names of the two legendary heroes, Keri and Kame, who represent in Bakairí legends the sun and the moon, are not words of the Bakairí language (which belongs to the Karaíb /Carib/ group) but words of the Arwak /Arawak/ linguistic group, it follows that the Paressí, who belong to this linguistic group, were, in this case, the authors of these legends rather than the Bakairí, and thus that the legends of the Paranatinga Bakairí were influenced by the Paressí; just as the Bakairí are mentioned in the legends of the Paressí, the latter are also mentioned in the legends of the Bakairí. According to Paressí legends, the Bakairí, or Matokoso as they are called by them, belong with other enemy tribes to the kin group of Chinikálore (Tchenikauré according to Karl v. d. Steinen), the big jaguar, who killed his brother Kamázo and the latter's wife, but then became the victim of Uakomo, the son of Kamázo, who avenged his father when he grew up. (17) We also find

17. Ibid., p. 431.

this tale of Chinikálore in the texts of Paressí legends. In these legends Chinikálore, from whose six arrows the Bakairí were born, appears as a distinctly hostile hero. Thus it may be assumed that the Bakairí, who belonged to his kin group, were also enemies of the Paressí. On this basis, relations between the Bakairí and the Paressí were already hostile in former times, and this hostility still persisted at the time of /17/ Karl von den Steinen's expeditions. Some years earlier, the Bakairí had attacked the Paressí on the road that leads to Diamantino, to capture their women, and had killed many of them /i.e., Paressí men/. (18) As already mentioned above, besides the

18. Ibid., p. 438.

two Kayabí women, two Paressí women were also living among

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794 survives death. (o) During sleep, kagatopuri leaves the body

6. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 43, 44.

and goes wandering through distant regions; on returning it causes the individual to awaken. To awaken a person suddenly might kill him, for kagatopuri would not have time to re-
[513] 775 turn to the body. After death the fluid soul leaves the body once and for all and changes into kadopa. The kadopa are
[776] wandering souls that continue in this way until their final transformation into iamũra which occurred in the domains of
796 Nakoeri, the culture hero. Nakoeri was a combination culture
793 hero and creator god of the Bakairí. In a /265/ text obtained by Capistrano de Abreu, Nakoeri first makes all the animals, and, using a plaster of clay, creates the Bakairí. (7) Next he

7. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 47.

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775 makes a cotton ladder and climbs to the sky.

796 The kadopa and iamũra suffer hunger and thirst and eat like the other Indians. For this they use the bodies of animals.
775 When the kadopa disturbed the alligators, rituals were performed to try to attract the wandering souls in order next to frighten them. One Bakairí account refers to the kadopa thus:

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539 "... if you do not intone kadopa's song he does not go to the sky. Because of this /after/ many days of sleeping put manioc paste /mingãu/ in two small clay cups /cũias/; put the paste in the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; the cups are smashed and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying ku ku ku (now, cheer up!).

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534 sticks decorated with geometric designs. These sticks are still used in Bakairí dances in Simões Lopes.

535 533 Our informants remembered the following dances and songs: oriko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; iauaisári, the maize song; mahutauari, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pahoevaré, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or anjéintabiénli.

535 532 825 [784] In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the iamũra, lords of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

● 703 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Nakoeri. (17) Tchina and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 45-50, 235-240.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same task of /269/ creating the [616] [794] Bakairí is attributed to Nakoeri. The nonexistence of moieties among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The 539 Paranatinga Indians told us the following myth:

Iamadili or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

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dance was given at night accompanied by flute playing.

When a woman came out of seclusion after the birth of a child the women of the village danced to the tunes of the *tadánwa* and *nokigóra* flutes.

ORIGIN MYTHS

Although the Bacairí have many myths, only two were obtained. One of these is the *yamadílli*, or the origin of day: In the beginning it was so dark and cold in the world that the people had to cover their bodies with grease to keep warm. The people wanted the sun to come out, so they put on their ornaments and painted their bodies and began to pray to *orimóto*, the great spirit who lived in the north. The Bacairí believed that *orimóto* was not an Indian but just a man who lived in a stone house with some of the animals which he had created. The people continued praying to *orimóto* and when light finally came the people were old and the children had grown up.

Yawétihadúho, or "those who died in the fire," is a story which tells about the origin of cultivated plants and the *yawaisári*, or corn dance: Once long ago there were a number of boys who were in puberty seclusion. At that time there were no cultivated plants, the people living by hunting and collecting wild plant foods. The boys were kept in seclusion so long and had so little to eat that they became very tired. One day when the relatives of the boys went out to collect food the boys all committed suicide. When the relatives returned and found the boys dead they were sorry and angry with themselves for neglecting them. They built a large fire and after dancing around the fire naked they jumped into the flames and were burned to death. The leader of this act was *yawíti*. Later the soul of *yawíti* returned and spoke through one of the living Indians. He explained to the Indians how to grow corn and other food crops and how to perform the corn dance. After that the corn dance (*yawaisári*) has always been performed.

As the Bacairí formerly lived in association with the other Upper Xingú tribes, it is perhaps useful to compare their following origin myths as gathered by Von den Steinen with those of the Camayurá. There appears to be a close resemblance between *Kamuschiní* of the Bacairí and

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP 7
[P.77-B]

773 171 Mavutsiné of the Camayurá. Both are original personages. It is also interesting to note that the Bacairí myth speaks of a time when there was maize but no manioc. Camayurá legends speak of the origin of manioc only. All the tribes are made from uba cane. The Camayurá, as we noted, were made by Mavutsiné from *camiuva* wood.

539 *The Parents of Keri and Kame.* The first part of this legend takes place in heaven. At that time there was almost everything that there is on earth today. They tell nothing of their own creation, they narrate only how it is that the heroes Keri and Kame obtain of other personages a part of the useful and important things. The Bakairí always existed, even if "in the beginning there were only a few." There were also other people that were not Bakairí, chiefly the different jaguar tribes and their relatives, who killed and ate many Bakairí. Kamuschiní, with whom the story begins, also was "of another people."

Kamuschiní went into the forest in search of tucum palm leaves to make bowstrings, where he met the jaguar Oka, whom he feared very much, and promised to get him some women if he were spared. First he felled red wood trees (*sewéti*), took the logs home, put them in a maize mortar, blew on them, and went away for a little while. But when he returned all the logs had turned into men who were busy making arrows. He killed them and went to fell five or six trees of another species which he handled as he had the other ones.

Returning, after a short absence, he saw that this time the trees had turned into women. They all called him "papa" and—with the exception of the last two, who, remaining seated without moving, infuriated him and he killed them immediately [a]—were busily grinding maize—"they say that at that time there was no manioc"—to make beijús and drinks. Kamuschiní gave the two eldest ones, Nimagakaniro and Ichoge, to the jaguar Oka, who took them home. On the way, however, Ichoge, climbing a burity palm for nuts, fell to the ground and died.

Nimagakaniro swallowed two Bakairí finger bones, which were spread around the house in great numbers as Oka used them to make arrowheads with which he killed many Bakairí, whose flesh he ate. It was due to these bones, only these, not Oka, which made her pregnant. Now, however, destiny threatened her in the person of her mother-in-law, Mero. Her husband is not known and besides Oka she had two other jaguar sons, Kuára

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[a] I obtained the names of five women: Nimagakaniro, Atanumagale, Ichoge, Koyaka, and Tawaguri. In my Bakairí grammar, p. 226, I erroneously wrote that Kamuschiní felled five piquí trees and committed the injustice of attributing to him a mistake. The name Ichoge contains *ipé* piquí (*irú - ge*, with pique). Tawaguri also is the name of a tree, of which the two lazy ones were made, in Portuguese it is called "olho de Boi" (bull's eye). Koyaka (*koyá-ka*, with *koyá*?) grew out of a tree with rough bark and yellow fruit. About Atanumagale's tree origin Antonio could give no further information. Both she and Koyaka were also wives and mothers of jaguars, although this information is given as uncertain. Later on Atanumagale is designated as the wife of Kuára, Mero's son.